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ABSTRACT

Prepared from a 3-agency team study of the Norwalk-La Mirada public schools during October through December of 1970, this problem-oriented report sets forth the results of school observations, community interviews, and staff opinion surveys, all directed toward analyzing intergroup relations and Mexican American education in this predominantly Anglo American school district. The material obtained via the team study provides the foundation for a 3-pronged evaluative summary of intergroup conflict, cultural pluralism, and rigidity and depersonalization in the schools, thus leading into 26 recommendations for action in areas such as compilation and use of data, community involvement, ethnic balance in the schools, employment and utilization of staff, student relations, tracking and teaching practices, inservice education of staff, and multi-ethnic curriculum. An appendix contains 4 statistical tables and an excerpt from the report "Intergroup Conflict in California Secondary Schools." (BO)

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Intergroup Relations and the Education of Mexican American Children

An Advisory Report to the Board of Education, Norwalk-La Mirada Unified School District

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Prepared by the

BUREAU OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS
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CALIFORNIA STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Wilson Riles — Superintendent of Public Instruction
Sacramento
1971

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"Cultural pluralism is a source of national strength."

Richard M. Nixon, Message to Congress,

July 8, 1970

"There is ample evidence . . . that the learning difficulties from which lower-class and minority-group children suffer have their origins in the school as well as in the home."

Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom

(Random House, 1970)

"No one can learn social responsibility, thinking, or problem solving when he is failing. The schools must provide all students who attend a reasonable chance for success."

William Glasser, M.D., Schools Without Failure

(Harper & Row, 1969)

CONTENTS

		Page
I.	Introduction	1
II.	Profile of the School District	4
III.	The Excelsior Situation	8
IV.	Staff Opinion Survey	21
V.	Community Attitudes	37
VI.	School Observations	47
VII.	Summary and Recommendations	60
VIII.	Appendix	69

INTERGROUP RELATIONS

AND

THE EDUCATION OF MEXICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN

An Advisory Report to the Board of Education,
Norwalk-La Mirada Unified School District

I. INTRODUCTION

During the months of October, November and December, 1970, the Bureau of Intergroup Relations, with the cooperation of the Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools Office and the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, conducted a team study of the Norwalk-La Mirada public schools in order to advise the unified school district regarding intergroup relations and the education of the Mexican American children.

Ten staff members of the three agencies visited the schools during that period. In addition to observing schools and examining records, they interviewed students, parents, community leaders, teachers, principals, district administrators and members of the Board of Education. The chief instruments and methods of the study, results of which are set forth in this report, were school observations, community interviews and a staff opinion survey.

Members of the team were: From the staff of the Bureau of Intergroup Relations, Julio Escobedo, Fred Gunsky, Morris Schneider; from the staff of the County Superintendent of Schools Office, John Ito, June Jimenez, Dolores Ratcliffe; from the staff of the County Commission on

Human Relations, Larry Aubry, Pat Banks, David Gomez, David Torres. Eugene Mornell, consultant on leave from the Bureau of Intergroup Relations, assisted in designing the plan of the survey and in editing the report. The team received valuable assistance through the assembling of information, organization of meetings and visiting schedules, and processing of data by the school district staff under the direction of the Superintendent, Dr. Louis Zeyen. Special thanks are due to the three Area Directors, Frank Lopes, Thomas Neel and Marvin Nottingham; to the Assistant to the Superintendent, Ross Jarvis; to the Coordinator of Special Projects, Benjamin Levine; and to the special intergroup relations committee of district personnel which advised the team regarding the survey instruments and procedures. Interviews with Norwalk and La Mirada residents holding a broad range of opinions were of great importance. It is not possible to name them here, but all those who gave the time to share their concerns are thanked.

This report is problem-oriented. It does not describe or assess all the positive efforts and worthwhile projects in which the district has been engaged, nor does it attempt to deal definitively with matters outside the experience and expertise of the intergroup relations study team. The subject is those aspects of education which have special impact on Mexican American children or on relationships between ethnic groups, insofar as they present problems within the schools or between the schools and the community.

It is true, of course, that education cannot be expected to resolve every social dilemma. A school is primarily an institution where

children learn. Nevertheless, social development and preparation for citizenship are among the goals of learning, and the school district must accept its share of responsibility and leadership in working to overcome the problems of the community. In doing so, it must try to alleviate the problems which originate in or are intensified in the schools, and must confront directly those which impair a child's ability to take advantage of educational opportunities. That is the basis of the study team's approach, as presumably it was the basis of the Superintendent's request that the study be made.

The report which follows is intended to describe and analyze a set of problems relating to intergroup relations and the education of Mexican American children in one school district. It offers some proposed solutions, with appreciation of the fact that even while the team was in the field, and during subsequent weeks and months, the district staff also was engaged in seeking solutions. These findings and recommendations will have value if they help Norwalk-La Mirada educators and families grapple with the problems they continue to confront, and if they help educators and families elsewhere to understand and cope with varieties of the same problems that exist in many California school districts.

II. PROFILE OF THE SCHOOL DISTRICT

The Norwalk-La Mirada Unified School District serves the residents of two cities in southeastern Los Angeles County, Norwalk (population 91,827) and La Mirada (population 30,808). Formerly agricultural, the area is the site of industry, commerce and regional government, but largely provides homes and services for families that derive their income from activities in the wider metropolitan complex.

One in four of the students in Norwalk-La Mirada elementary schools is of Spanish surname, which is to say, in most cases, of Mexican or Mexican American descent. Of the enrollment of 31,500 reported in the most recent survey, nearly 7,200 belong to that ethnic group. Since the school district became unified in 1965, total enrollment has decreased slightly while the Spanish surname proportion has steadily increased. In 1967 it was 20.0 percent; in 1968, 20.9; in 1969, 21.3; in 1970, 22.8. Other minorities comprise a little more than 1 percent of the enrollment. (See Table 1, Appendix.)

The district operates 25 elementary schools (K-6), seven intermediate schools (7-8), five comprehensive high schools (9-12), a continuation high school and an adult school. Mexican American families reside throughout the district, but those of low income are concentrated in certain attendance areas. More than one-third of all Spanish surname elementary pupils, for instance, attend Grayland, Nottingham and Ramona Schools where ESEA Title I compensatory education programs are conducted. Nearly half of all Spanish surname intermediate pupils attend Centennial and Wright Schools, which, with Grayland, Nottingham and Ramona, are

outside the range of balance for minority enrollment as defined in State regulations. (Dulles Elementary and McNally Intermediate are at the other end of the scale, outside the range of balance for Anglo students.)

Administratively, the schools in the district are grouped in five satellites, each including one high school, one or more feeder intermediate schools, and several feeder elementary schools. The high schools and their satellites are:

1. La Mirada - Benton, Foster Road, Mesa, Gardenhill, Kling, Dulles.
2. Norwalk - Corvallis, New River, Johnston, Morrison, Waite, Hoxie.
3. Excelsior - Centennial, Los Alisos, Glazier, Lampton, Nuffer, Nottingham, Grayland.
4. Glenn - Wright, Dolland, Moffitt, Hargitt, Ramona.
5. Neff - McNally, Los Coyotes, Hutchinson, La Pluma, Rancho, Escalona, Anthony, Eastwood.

There are wide differences in ethnic composition among the five groups of schools. The Excelsior satellite, with 24 percent of the total students in the district, has nearly 40 percent of the district's Spanish surname pupils. The Neff satellite, with 22 percent of the total, has less than 10 percent of those of Spanish surname. The La Mirada satellite has 19 percent of the total, 11 percent of the Spanish surname; the Norwalk satellite, 19 and nearly 18; and the Glenn satellite, 16 and nearly 22.

About 3 percent of full-time professional instructional staff regularly assigned to schools are of Spanish surname, according to the latest Federal Civil Rights compliance survey. Of the 36 Spanish surname teachers and administrators, 12, or one-third, are assigned to the five minority imbalanced schools. Three of those schools are within the Excelsior satellite, and the satellite as a whole has 13 of the 36 Spanish surname professionals.*

There is general agreement that efforts must be increased to make the staff more representative of the Spanish surname group that constitutes so large a proportion of the district's pupil enrollment. Special recruiting programs in the past have brought to nearly 6 percent the employment of instructional staff from Oriental ethnic groups. The personnel division reports, however, that turnover of certificated employees is substantially less than in previous years, and prospects are that there will be a limited number of new hires in the immediate future.

Total assessed valuation in the Norwalk-La Mirada District in 1970-71 is estimated at $208.5 million. This amounts to $9,320 per pupil at the elementary level and $19,111 per pupil at the secondary level. The expenditure for education per average daily attendance, kindergarten through grade 12, is estimated at $653. In 1969-70, when it was $636.34 per ADA, Norwalk-La Mirada was spending $126.54 less than the average district in Los Angeles County and ranked 36th among 38 unified districts in the county in educational spending per ADA.

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*A subsequent survey conducted by the district personnel office identified 45 teachers and other certificated staff who have Spanish surnames or are of Mexican-American ancestry.

For the present year, the school district has budgeted expenses of approximately $24 million. School taxes are at the maximum rate allowed, the latest attempt to obtain authorization for an override having failed at the polls in 1968-69. The district has used some $40 million under the State aid program for school construction. Structures meet the requirements of the Field Act for earthquake safety, and no schools are on double sessions. Although there is a need to modernize some facilities, there is at present no unused bonding capacity.

Bus transportation cost a total of $375,208 in 1969-70; of that amount, $134,195 was reimbursed by the State. The number of pupils transported daily one way was 3,563, of whom 535 were handicapped.

There are several programs of Federal assistance to the schools in Norwalk-La Mirada. The principal one is that funded under Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-10), to meet the special needs of educationally deprived children. In 1970-71, 660 pupils are participating at Grayland, Nottingham and Ramona Schools. The project is concerned with elementary communication and arithmetic skills, at a cost of $331,086, or $502 per child, in addition to the normal expenditure of other funds for the education of each child.

III. THE EXCELSIOR SITUATION

At the visible center of intergroup relations issues in the Norwalk-La Mirada Unified School District is what the Norwalk Call has described as "the Excelsior situation."

"Excelsior was (like) a little college when I went there 22 years ago, but now I'm ashamed to send my children to Excelsior," one irate parent is reported to have told the Board of Education on May 13, 1970. Whatever Excelsior High School may have been like 22 years ago, certainly it has resembled many college campuses and urban high schools during the past several years, but perhaps not in a manner calculated to please this one of many complaining parents. The newspaper headlines tell the story, which has been well documented by the school district administration: "Demonstration Rocks Excelsior," "Conflict Erupts During School Board Meeting," "Deputies Arrest Six After Melee at High School," "Excelsior Fight Injures Three," "Administrators Walk Out of Talks with Chicanos," "Chicano Club is Banned at E.H.S.," "Excelsior Parents Want 'Hard Line.'"

In fact, Excelsior has been typical of many urban schools as the center of youth and intergroup unrest. In 1968, according to the Riot Data Review published by the Lemberg Center for Study of Violence at Brandeis University, 44 percent of all recorded civil disorders in the United States involved the public schools, a three-fold increase over the previous year. "Schools have continued - and in increasing numbers - as a major focal point of unrest in this country," the Review stated.

During the 1968-69 school year, there were some 300 disorders in the nation's high schools alone. Between September 1969 and April 1970, there were more than 400 disorders. Among these disorders, and those that followed, was "the Excelsior situation."

The issue at Excelsior, therefore, is not the novelty of the disruptions, unusual as they may be in Norwalk. It is not even the chronology of the events, the specific student grievances and "demands" or the administration and Board responses. Rather, the issue is that of the problems underlying a great deal of rhetoric and of solutions which could prove to be more than first-aid, more than brief attention to the symptoms of a deeper ailment.

The 1970 racial and ethnic survey of the five comprehensive high schools in the district indicates the following percentages of students:

	Majority White	Spanish Surname	Other Minorities
Excelsior	66.6	32.0	1.2
Glenn	74.2	24.0	.8
Norwalk	83.5	16.2	1.0
Neff	87.1	11.0	1.8
La Mirada	88.5	10.1	1.4

The same survey indicates the following percentages of professional staff:

Excelsior	96.6	3.4	0
Glenn	91.4	4.3	4.3
Norwalk	92.2	2.6	5.2
Neff	94.2	1.4	4.4
La Mirada	94.8	3.8	1.4

Faculty members who have worked in the district for many years state that the percentage of Spanish surname students at Excelsior (almost all Mexican American) has not increased substantially during the past 10 to 15 years, although actual figures are not available. There is an indication, based on staff evaluations and Title I data, that the Excelsior attendance area includes most of the low-income families in the district, but there are no figures indicating whether the number of these families has increased over the years.

Lack of data also is a problem in attempting to determine to what extent Mexican American students are achieving or not achieving academically at Excelsior. There are no figures, by ethnic group, on grade-point averages, students in college-preparatory programs and in the various "tracks" of the curriculum, college graduates at each level of higher education, etc. There is a general feeling among administrators and staff that Mexican Americans are not achieving as well as Anglos, especially low-income Mexican Americans, and what minimal figures are available would appear to confirm a picture of under-representation in terms of achievement and over-representation in terms of identified behavior problems.

It was reported at a Board of Education meeting on May 13, 1970, according to the Norwalk Call, that in the third quarter of the 1969-70 school year there were 1,949 D grades and 1,245 F grades given to students at Excelsior; Mexican American students received 43 percent of the F grades, and 70 percent of all Mexican American students received

at least one F grade. Available figures on absenteeism seem to indicate that Mexican American students represent more than 49 percent of those absent on any given day. In addition, suspension figures are available for the period September 1970 to January 1971, indicating the following:

	Total Suspensions	Mexican American Suspensions
Excelsior	116	69 (59.4%)
Norwalk	123	20 (16.2%)
Neff	139	12 (8.6%)
La Mirada	90	25 (27.7%)

(No data from Glenn)

(Dr. John Clark, until recently the Excelsior principal, stated that during the 1968-69 school year, prior to his arrival, there were 3,900 referrals to the administration for behavior problems, with 1,100 suspensions of boys alone. No ethnic breakdown was provided.)

The result of this situation, and other problems which are discussed below, has been the continual "happening" of this year. Attempts by some Mexican American students, young adults, and parents to confront what they have seen as a problem of unequal education has been translated into specific requests or "demands:" removal of remedial classes with disproportionate numbers of Mexican Americans and implementation of a reading program in regular classes; programs to encourage Mexican Americans to become administrators, counselors, and attendance workers; expanded numbers of textbooks, other materials, and library facilities

related to Mexican American people and culture; changed academic requirements for participation in student activities; more intensive recruiting of Mexican American teachers; in-service training for teachers in subject areas related to the Mexican American; reduced teacher-pupil ratios; and a variety of demands (amnesty, free distribution of literature on campus, etc.) connected with MECHA and the "demonstrations" at which these demands sometimes have been presented, sometimes without regard for traditional rules and amenities, sometimes in violation of the law.

The district response has come on several levels. Specific programs have been implemented. In September 1969, a Mexican American History and Culture class was started at Excelsior, as was a program in English as a Second Language. A special library shelf on the Mexican American was developed, purchases of books were made, a brief description of recruiting activities for Mexican American staff was presented. In the summer of 1970, student-faculty workshops were held, with programs and recommendations developed in the areas of discipline and attendance, drop-out and failure rate, curriculum relevance, and student organizations. The Expanded Horizons Program, approved much earlier, was implemented in November 1970, late because of circumstances beyond district control (Mrs. Marruffo's accident).

On another level, open communication and negotiation were maintained by the district. Aside from a variety of publications ("Problem-Solving Structure for Excelsior High School," "Progress Report on

Student Demands at Excelsior High School," "Notes on the Walkout at Excelsior High School," etc.), presentations at Board meetings, extensive news coverage, and other forms of information dissemination, the district appointed Marvin Nottingham of the central staff to meet with interested groups and discuss the issues involved. During the spring of 1970, it appeared that most persons with an interest in "the Excelsior situation" had access to the Board, the administration, and other appropriate channels of communication.

Meanwhile, Dr. Clark, who had been appointed Principal at Excelsior in September 1969, was working in ways other than meeting with students and implementing some of the programs described above. Dr. Clark believed that Excelsior had been administered in a rather authoritarian manner prior to unification, with corporal punishments and suspensions, prescribed penalties for specific student offenses, non-involvement of faculty in other than classroom affairs. As a "non-directive" administrator, he wanted to move away from this approach toward use of detention, instructional assignments, and other in-school learning activities for discipline, in-service training of staff in problem-identification and a "schools without failure" emphasis, a greatly expanded curriculum, and other areas of innovation. He believed that any intergroup problems at Excelsior were basically problems of a staff entrenched in a specific traditional "way of life" unrelated to present student needs and problems of implementing what he considered a relevant curriculum. The immediate result of Dr. Clark's efforts, by his own estimate and that of others, was primarily the alienation of many groups within the school community.

An informal faculty survey (mimeo, no date) conducted during the 1969-70 school year drew responses from 69 of the 77 staff polled. Ninety-six percent found student conflict "worse" or "much worse" than the year before; 92 percent found effectiveness in handling discipline worse or much worse; 87 percent found effectiveness in attendance procedures worse or much worse; 78 percent found effectiveness in handling MECHA-directed activities worse or much worse. There was distrust of all but one administrator, and 88 percent of the teachers described slight or deficient communication between administration and faculty; 75 percent believed there was a serious disregard of faculty opinion. At the same time, however, Dr. Clark (as well as Dr. Nottingham and 16 other teachers and administrators) was being described as "racist" by MECHA.

The response to "the Excelsior situation" by the Excelsior faculty well might be described as ambivalent. Despite the response to the informal survey described above, a staff opinion survey administered district-wide by the district and study team in late 1970 found a general denial of problems.

When asked about intergroup tension in the school, 85 percent of the teachers replied that it was "not serious, isolated incidents only." Fifty-nine percent of the teachers felt that "any problems have been greatly magnified by a few individuals." Only two percent of the teachers felt that there was hostility among students from different ethnic groups, the same low percentage identifying tension between teachers and students from other ethnic groups. It may be that the Excelsior staff was denying

that conflict had an ethnic base, or it may be that they were denying problems to "outsiders." Yet in several other high schools of the district, the response to these same questions was significantly higher.

When asked in the study team survey whether Mexican American students were achieving as well as Anglo students, 62 percent of the teachers at Excelsior responded that they were achieving equally, a larger number of staff at Excelsior taking this view than at any other high school. (Not one administrator at Excelsior described this equal achievement.) Sixty-six percent of the teachers at Excelsior said that Mexican American students participate "very freely" in classroom activities and discussions, while 41 percent said that Mexican American students tend to "mix very well" with all students at recess, at lunchtime, and at school-sponsored activities; in response to both questions, there were other high schools where teachers did not respond so positively.

At the same time a positive response by the staff at Excelsior was reflected in other ways. Seventy-nine percent of the teachers felt that the potential to achieve is found in about the same degree among Mexican American students as it is among Anglo students, a higher percentage than at any other high school. When asked whether Anglo teachers feel more comfortable with Anglo students than with Mexican American students, 82 percent of the Excelsior teachers said they felt "no different." And only 25 percent of the Excelsior faculty said that it is more difficult to work in schools with substantial numbers of Mexican Americans, a lower percentage than at any other school. All of these responses would seem to indicate a low level of overt ethnic bias.

On the other hand, 57 percent of the Excelsior teachers felt that problems will increase if the Mexican American population grows and expands within the district. Sixty-seven percent of the teachers said that fewer than 25 percent of their Mexican American students successfully could complete a college-preparatory high school program. (A larger number, 69 percent, said the same of their Anglo students, but only at Glenn was there a lower estimate of the abilities of either Mexican Americans or Anglos.) Sixty-one percent of the teachers said that fewer than 25 percent of Mexican American parents are greatly concerned about their children's academic success. (Fifty-four percent said the same of Anglos, and again only at Glenn was there a lower estimate of interest, in this case only regarding Mexican American parents.)

Any discipline problems which were identified by Excelsior teachers were attributed for the most part to a "lack of interest" on the part of students, 71 percent selecting this reason, the same reason attributed to attendance problems by 62 percent of the staff. "Permissiveness" in society also was cited by the staff as a reason for poor behavior and attendance, while reasons reflecting on the school or staff (irrelevant curriculum, failure of staff to set limits, etc.) received much less attention. "Increasing student motivation" was seen as the key classroom issue by 61 percent of the teachers. Responses to all of these questions were similar throughout the district.

Finally, in regard to the study team opinion survey, 72 percent of the teachers at Excelsior stated that they believed in a "melting pot" concept of education ("we are all Americans with a variety of individual differences") rather than a "cultural pluralism" concept ("America is a country of many peoples and cultures, each with its own distinct group identity and contribution"). In no other high school was this choice made by so many of the staff.

The faculty opinion survey has been cited to this extent because when contrasted with available data on achievement and behavior, it seems to reflect, better than student demands or administration responses, the underlying problems in "the Excelsior situation." Foremost among these are a perceived lack of a "sense of urgency" and an absence of "trust." The sense of urgency is felt by the Chicano community to be lacking among administrators and staff at both the district and high school level. The missing sense of urgency, as well as other attitudes, appear to result, in turn, in a lack of trust by many in the community in their relationships with the district.

("Chicano" is used deliberately. There is no one Mexican American community, as there is no Anglo community, in Norwalk-La Mirada. There are many Mexican Americans who think of themselves as Americans only, having little practical identification with their ethnic past; some of these are of low income. There are other Mexican Americans, for the most part of low income or concerned about those of low income, who do not wish to assimilate and are dissatisfied with the achievement of

youth from this background in the present educational system; these are being called Chicanos. There are many other Mexican Americans of differing inclinations. Part of the present situation at Excelsior, and elsewhere in the district, stems from an apparent effort to adapt one educational program to the needs of many groups. "Many are willing to 'accept' the Mexican American 'if only he will do it our way,'" one teacher wrote in his opinion survey.)

What many in the Chicano community believe they see lacking is a sense of urgency in dealing with a series of issues that have existed for many years at Excelsior. Teachers at Excelsior individually have stated that a number of problems have long been present and tacitly recognized. They include disproportionate numbers of Mexican Americans in remedial and "low track" classes, few Mexican Americans in school activities, and inattention by district and staff to the pluralistic aspects of the United States. These problems have been disregarded for the most part because there seemed to be little "overt discrimination" or militants to bring the issues to public attention. Even now, "people have a tendency to overlook problems with Mexican American students rather than rock the boat," another teacher wrote. And, as noted previously, a great deal of invaluable data on achievement is not available by ethnic group despite its necessity in terms of problem identification.

Central to this situation are contrasting social values and educational objectives with some hesitancy to accept: the positive recognition of cultural differences as a contribution to American democratic pluralism;

the awareness that almost all children are interested in the world around them and motivated to learn, and that almost all parents are interested in their children's success (requiring, however, different approaches to different cultures and peoples); the responsibility of the school to change to meet the needs of the culturally different (as well as many majority group young people), rather than wait for the child to adapt to the school.

Part of this acceptance involves overcoming the understandable reluctance by some administrators and staff to see problems where problems exist, or the propensity to redefine problems as matters of discipline, which in itself is a symptom. (From the opinion survey: "Get your discipline squared away." "Lack of enforcement of school rules and state laws by administrators." "A strong change is needed in discipline philosophy - get tough." That discipline problems are symptoms of deeper educational problems does not mean, of course, that learning should be disrupted or that firm and fair standards of behavior should be unenforced or eliminated.) Part of this acceptance also involves overcoming reluctance to see differences where differences exist. It involves raising expectations for all children, regardless of race, creed, or color.

Problems with which specific programs cannot fully cope stem from: (1) the attitude conveyed by a lacking sense of urgency, or a sense of urgency poorly communicated; and (2) a reluctance to deal with an awareness of cultural differences and desires, when evident daily in even a few staff members. Negotiations, curriculum changes, increases

in relevant materials, and other responses are all necessary and demonstrate district good faith, although as yet unaccepted as such by many. Yet, without a more complete awareness of what is being asked for, and some reallocation of resources based on need,* the sense of urgency and a climate of trust still will be perceived as lacking.

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*One small example of this need is the Expanded Horizons Program which Mrs. Marruffo is responsible for implementing. Given stated objectives for encouraging and assisting "disadvantaged students," it is impossible under present conditions for the Director of the Program to do all of the following, described in a Division of Educational Services memorandum dated August 25, 1970:

1. To plan programs at Excelsior High School for Mexican American young people which will implement the district's compensatory educational program.

2. To serve as a resource consultant in the field of Mexican American education for other schools in the Norwalk-La Mirada Unified District.

3. To organize a program of college counseling, stressing special programs available for minority students.

4. To work with teachers on individual student problems.

5. To plan programs of activities to involve students and parents in school and community life, i.e., parent advisory committee.

6. To develop and maintain communications with the administrative and counseling staff, including the Excelsior Area Director.

IV. STAFF OPINION SURVEY

A recent study in another state identified the most pressing or serious problems encountered by "cross-over" white teachers newly assigned to schools with a significant proportion of minority pupils. The teachers placed the following problems at the top of the list:

1. Discipline and classroom control.
2. Working with students who have less parental support, resources, and enrichment experiences than those of previous classes.
3. Unfamiliarity with students' backgrounds, race, and/or language.
4. Inadequate preparation for the experience.

Although many teachers in Norwalk and La Mirada are not new to schools of the ethnic composition found there, there is evidence that the "cross-over" syndrome is a common one, and that similar problems are faced daily by teachers in a district whose elementary school population is 25 percent Spanish surname but whose professional instructional staff at the elementary level is 2 percent Spanish surname - and where the five schools of highest minority enrollment (three elementary and two intermediate) report 54 percent of their pupils are of Spanish surname, but less than 8 percent of their full-time professional instructional staff are of that group.

To obtain a cross-section of staff attitudes and opinions on problems or issues in intergroup relations and the education of Mexican American

children, Superintendent Zeyen distributed to all certificated and classified personnel a questionnaire prepared by the study team. It contained 78 items on which the individual respondent could make his choice of answers by using a mark-sense card. The cards were processed electronically, and the results were tabulated. If an individual wished to comment, he did so in writing on the questionnaire pages. Those comments were read and analyzed by the study team.

It was expected that not all classified employees would participate, and that many of those who did would leave certain questions unanswered because their duties are so different from those of instructional staff and do not involve contact with students. In fact, 65 percent of the classified staff of 610 participated, but a large number of them (one-quarter to one-half in many cases) failed to answer some blocks of questions. All 120 administrators responded. Of the 1,200 teachers, 88 percent responded.

In his explanatory letter, Dr. Zeyen assured employees of the greatest possible anonymity. He also said:

> "The survey should not be viewed as an objective 'test' of your educational philosophy, values, or beliefs. There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers. We are interested, of course, in gaining some insight into staff feelings and views of problems. It is hoped that these questions, many of which are open-ended, will help us define issues and come to some useful conclusions."

The previous section, on the Excelsior situation, presented some of the survey findings at the high school level. Looking at the district as a whole, the staff opinion survey indicates a pattern as follows:

A. Educational Concerns

The most important concerns for the Norwalk-La Mirada schools were considered to be increasing students' motivation and desire to learn, and helping them to learn basic skills. Such concerns as helping students learn to live with persons of a different racial or ethnic background, improving their self-image, and developing their concern for others also were considered important, but by fewer teachers and administrators. (At the schools with the greatest concentration of Mexican American pupils, a larger proportion of the staff ranked intergroup relations concerns and vocational education "very important.")

B. Tension, Hostility

Hostility among students from different ethnic groups and tension between teachers and students of other ethnic groups occurred rarely or not at all at their schools, according to a large majority of respondents. (Teachers and administrators at largely minority schools were different in their answers; most of them reported more defiance, tension and hostility, although at two schools they reported less.) About half of those responding in the district said there is very little intergroup tension and any problems have been greatly magnified by a few individuals.

C. Equal Facilities and Staff

Two-thirds of all teachers felt that school facilities are fairly equal throughout the district, and that schools with a substantial number of Mexican American students are little different from those with few. (Fewer teachers at most of the latter schools agreed with this view.) Ninety percent felt that the average level of teacher experience, skill and dedication is similar in all schools, regardless of ethnic composition.

D. Achievement, School Problems

More than half of the teachers responding, and nearly 60 percent of all administrators, agreed that the higher the proportion of Anglo students in a school, the higher the achievement. (Classified employees were evenly divided on this.) A majority of each group agreed that it is more difficult for most administrators and teachers to work in schools with substantial Mexican American populations because such schools generally have more problems of discipline, motivation, etc. (Teachers in those schools agreed more strongly.)

E. Ethnic Balance

Nearly two-thirds of the teachers and administrators responding disagreed with the statement that ethnic balance in the schools probably would improve the achievement of Mexican American students without loss in achievement by Anglo students. Most of them (72 percent of the teachers and 58 percent of the administrators) also rejected the periodic movement of staff, disagreeing with the

proposition that if the ethnic composition of the schools remains essentially unchanged, staff should be reassigned every three to five years so that everyone will have an opportunity to work throughout the district. (Classified personnel were not as strongly against the ethnic balance idea, and were evenly divided about moving staff periodically. This was also true of teachers in largely Mexican American schools.)

F. Intergroup Problems

A large majority of the entire staff agreed that intergroup relations problems will tend to increase if the Mexican American population continues to grow and expand within the district. On the other hand, more said they considered the problem of intergroup tension at the school of their assignment to be "not serious; isolated incidents only."

G. Self-Segregation

A substantial proportion of the respondents, though not the majority, reported that some or most Mexican American students tend to stay with their own ethnic group at recess, at lunchtime, and at school-sponsored activities. However, 75% of the teachers and 60% of the administrators felt that Mexican American students participate as freely as most Anglos in classroom activities and discussions. (There was some indication, at the largely Mexican American schools, that self-segregation is more frequent at the intermediate level than at the elementary.)

H. Staff Attitudes

There was wide agreement that special attitudes (more than special skills) are required to be successful in working with Mexican American students. Thirteen percent of the administrators (but only 5.5 percent of the teachers) said they believed Anglo teachers on their staff, when working with Mexican American rather than Anglo students, feel less comfortable or much less comfortable. Use of the term "Chicano" makes 24 percent of the teachers, 34 percent of the administrators, and 36 percent of classified employees feel uncomfortable or very uncomfortable. (In some of the largely Mexican American schools, "Chicano" caused less discomfort.)

I. Academic Ability

Forty percent of the professional staff estimated that one-quarter or fewer of their Anglo students have the ability to complete successfully a college-preparatory high school program. Fifty percent said the same thing of their Mexican American students. (At the largely Mexican American schools, teachers had even lower expectations of both groups.)

J. Causes of Discipline Problems

The overwhelming majority of all respondents said such factors as home and peer environment and general permissiveness in our society are important causes of discipline problems. Two-thirds said lack of meaningful curriculum is an important cause; about half, inadequate quality of teaching; 41 percent, ethnic background of students;

26 percent of teachers (and 32 percent of administrators and 36 percent of classified personnel), prejudiced school employees.

K. Pluralism, Controversy

Given a choice between stressing the "melting pot" point of view and that of "cultural pluralism" (see page 17 for definition) in working with Mexican American students, 57 percent of the teachers picked up the "melting pot," 29 percent "cultural pluralism," and 12 percent abstained. For administrators, the percentages were 50, 37 and 13. About one-third of each group said there is much need for more emphasis on classroom discussion of such controversial issues as the civil rights movement, urban riots, black power, brown power, discrimination, prejudice and racism. Twenty-one percent of the teachers and 14 percent of the administrators said there probably should be less emphasis on such issues in the classroom.

L. Written Comments

Asking sensitive and even controversial questions of nearly 2,000 people involved in an educational enterprise at this time in history is bound to produce a variety of answers, some of them overheated, some to the point, some not. About 360 district employees (teachers and classified) were not heard from at all. An equal number of the other end of the spectrum not only submitted marked cards for tabulation but also wrote one or more comments on the question sheets.

The study team interpreted the comments in about 30 instances as an expression of strong hostility to the survey itself; by implication,

hostility to the idea of making a study of these matters. In about 135 cases, the comments were found to offer serious, constructive criticism of the schools, suggestions for their improvement, or important views on intergroup relations and the education of Mexican American children.

Among the topics about which staff members expressed themselves strongly, often with striking disagreement, were these:

1. <u>"Melting pot" versus "cultural pluralism"</u>

   The first two views from professionals working at the same school:

   a. "Certainly, the U.S. is not a 'melting pot,' all of us are not one happy family. Let's not kid ourselves. I think all students would profit from the idea that we are all U.S. citizens, but each and every group did contribute to American society. Each group has the right to be proud of its cultural heritage."

   b. "Cultural pluralism - the temptation to beat people over the head with your own heritage (real or imagined) - is a bunch of crap. Whether it's a Mayflower snob, a DAR snob or a 'soul' snob it's a waste of everyone's time. The most successful minority groups, the Irish, Italians and Jews, used a high degree of assimilation without completely abandoning their heritage, but managed not to rub anyone's nose in it either."

Others on the same subject:

c. "Both."

d. "Cultural pluralism is the reality of the situation in the United States today. We should deal with reality."

e. "I am an Oriental but I consider myself an American <u>first</u>! A person's cultural background should be preserved but that should be considered <u>secondary</u> to being an American citizen!!"

f. "Cultural pluralism develops disunity in a country."

g. "Though most Mexican American people state that they want to be accepted into 'middle class America' and that they want to accept the standards of same, they often discourage their own voiced desire by 'cultural pluralism', the development of Chicano groups, etc."

h. "It is essential for the district to become sensitive to the aspirations of identity and fulfill those needs - as viewed by the minority, in this case the Chicano."

i. "But we should drive our cars on the same side of the street."

2. <u>Terms to identify ethnic groups</u>

a. "The word Chicano does not mean anything at all. The words Mexican American are incorrect, because no one else of ethnic origin is labeled as such (sample) Italian American, French American, etc."

b. "Why not refer to <u>all as Americans</u>?"

c. "It always depends on the context (situation) in which the terms are used."

d. "These terms only help to separate human beings. We shouldn't label any group - we are American Human Beings."

e. "I feel to be called 'Chicano' is a personal insult. I detest that word - it is just like calling a Negro 'nigger' - There isn't any 'Brown' race, never was, never will be!!"

f. "Chicano is an 'in-group' word. It was not meant for Anglo or other racial group to use in describing people of Mexican heritage. Some Mexican Americans resent 'Chicano' from other groups."

3. Special skills or attitudes in working with Mexican American students

a. "Ability to listen to both sides' complaints and negotiate without interjecting personal opinions."

b. "An open mind to the people involved rather than thinking of each group as having certain inherent qualities."

c. "Requires involvement on part of teacher. Personal involvement with student and home."

d. "Experience with racial groups is perhaps the best unconscious skill one can possess - if it has taught a teacher acceptance of the individual, regardless of race, creed, or color."

e. "Yes. Attitudes are more important. If you have the right attitude, the skill will follow."

f. "Using skills in the broadest sense possible, these could include knowing Spanish (but as spoken in this area of the Southwest, not the Spanish of Spain), an awareness of history, culture, family patterns - of those living in Mexico as well as the Southwest, the struggles in agriculture . . ."

4. <u>Ethnic differences in the schools</u>

a. "I feel that the difficulty with Mexican Americans comes from holding too closely to their culture in the home, which usually creates a language barrier, thus hindering learning. They usually respond well if they feel you are fair, however, this does not eliminate the language barrier."

b. "Teachers should be assigned to schools with high Mexican American population who <u>prefer</u> to work with students who need extra help, time and understanding."

c. "Grayland, Nottingham should be staffed by dedicated volunteers. Unilateral assignments do not work well as volunteers."

d. "These questions miss the issue. The attitudes of staff need to be changed regardless of ethnic balance. Kids from poor backgrounds do poorly because we do not meet their needs."

e. "I am in a branch of Special Education where our Mexican children do achieve, because they get the individual attention they need."

f. "Too many teachers expect less from Mexican American students."

g. "I feel requests are made for various studies as an excuse to ignore regular subjects and kill time."

h. "I believe there is more potential for problems because of socioeconomic factors related to ethnic composition than to ethnic background alone. Most Mexican Americans who have moved up do not want to be associated with current 'racial problems.'"

5. In what type of school would you prefer to work

a. "School with kids eager to learn. Ethnic groups have nothing to do with it."

b. "It really wouldn't matter. A child is a child no matter what race or color."

c. "If administrators would stop catering to certain groups, one kind of school would be as easy to work in as another."

d. "I want to work in a school where the students are well behaved regardless of ethnic composition!"

e. "It may be easier to work in an all Anglo environment but the real challenge can be elsewhere!!"

f. "What is important is that there is order and discipline and that teachers as well as students are supported."

g. "It's not who I teach that's important to me; it's what I teach."

h. "I would always prefer a mixed school, not only mixed in terms of backgrounds, but interests, abilities, languages . . . Diversity, contributions of various peoples, different colors, smells, foods, sounds - these are always a source of joy."

6. Possible intergroup relations problems

a. "Here at our school, I can honestly say all children are treated the same. They all seem happy."

b. "I believe the whole thing is blown up out of proportion. Mexican Americans are given more privileges, are not disciplined the same as Americans. Especially at Excelsior. Why? Are our staff afraid of these few?"

c. "We rarely have an ethnic problem on our campus. A small percentage of Mexican American and Oriental students have expressed, on occasion, a feeling that there exists racial bias on our campus."

d. "There is pressure on the staff who try to improve intergroup relations by using coercion and aggressive tactics."

e. "There is a lack of administrative strength to handle problems correctly. Policy when agreed upon must be upheld, it must not vacillate."

f. "In-service workshops are needed. This is typical in education where unless someone rocks the boat one cannot see a need."

g. "We need funds for so many academic things, that I dislike hearing about more money for intergroup relations. Quit making an issue. Our children are not aware of the differences until they hear it from adults!"

7. <u>Factors in creating discipline problems</u>

a. "The school age child has a right to know what is expected of him. He also has the right to know someone cares enough about him to ask him to act in a responsible manner. Inconsistent rules and regulations dealt with by equivocation and outright permissiveness builds frustrations and anxiety in the child and helps no one."

b. "'Lack of meaningful curriculum' biggest factor."

c. "Lack of enforcement of school rules and State laws by administrators."

d. "It's not the permissiveness in our society but rather the permissiveness on the part of the administration at the school which is probably just carrying out district policy."

8. Classroom discussion of controversial issues

   a. "The more you discuss issues in the classroom the less steam is allowed to blow in our streets! The steam can be better directed . . ."

   b. "The classroom teacher knows his or her group and it should be left to him or her. In some cases, it would cause a riot in classroom."

   c. "More open discussion will help child to understand his world, with perhaps fewer bottled-up feelings to boil over in later conflicts."

   d. "It only creates trouble."

   e. "The school is the ultimate release of frustrations resulting in violence. Why not the beginning of open, honest discussion with leadership?"

   f. "The mere presence of this question is, in my opinion, the best indication of the seriousness of the problem we face as a society."

9. Problems increase if Mexican American population grows

   a. "Until these people are willing to accept the fact they are now in the U.S.A. and not Mexico, problems will continue."

   b. "Depends upon the leadership of the school and attitude and backing of district administrators."

   c. "My experience is that it is not the Mexican American children who are the 'trouble-makers.'"

d. "Only to the extent that if they find violence to be the only way to get people in the community to listen to their problems and recognize their rights."

e. "There are small groups and individuals who would see that the problems would increase."

f. "The question seems to put the burden upon the Mexican American as to whether or not intergroup problems will increase or decrease. Intergroup relations problems will tend to increase as long as white attitudes remain as they are. Put the responsibility where it belongs!"

g. "Only if dissidents continue to 'push.'"

h. "Only if <u>substantial</u> means are not initiated to begin working together to solve intergroup differences."

i. "With the group of Mexican Americans that are glad to be here and are working to better the situation, it will decrease. But they will have to be stronger and more patient to influence the dividing group."

V. COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

An assessment of community opinions and attitudes regarding the subject of the study was made by means of interviews with more than 60 Norwalk and La Mirada residents, representing a cross-section of persons interested in the educational program. Most were parents of children attending public schools. They included many Mexican Americans, some of whom had expressed criticism of school personnel and practices; several were public officials or leaders in various civic organizations and activities; some were recent graduates of the local high schools; but a large number of those interviewed were simply parents - Anglo or Mexican American - identified by school principals and others as being concerned with the experience of children in school and the outcomes of that experience.

All seven members of the Board of Education were interviewed. So were many individuals who had been active in parent-teacher associations, Scout and other youth organizations, business, city government, church and religious groups, and teacher and school employee organizations. An effort was made to balance the selection of those to be interviewed among Anglos and Mexican Americans, residents of each of the cities, and persons of different social and economic status. Limitations of time and difficulty in making appointments prevented the team from meeting the goal of 100 interviews balanced in every category.

It is the feeling of the team that the conclusions summarized in this section are representative of community opinions and attitudes

in the Norwalk-La Mirada district. Despite the informality of the interviews and the inevitable subjectivity of interpretation, the result appears to be a consensus of the majority and minority points of view regarding successes and failures of the school system, inter-group relations, and the education of Mexican American children.

A. Evaluation of the Program

Two-thirds of those interviewed stated that they were generally satisfied with the education being provided in Norwalk-La Mirada schools. Asked which aspects they felt the schools handled especially well, many mentioned the academic program in general, while others cited innovative activities such as those using volunteers and aides, programs to assist the "disadvantaged," and the athletic program. Some individuals specified English, reading, music, drugs and family life, industrial arts, new curriculum, "tracking," and "autonomy of teachers."

Asked which aspects they felt the schools handled most poorly, the largest number of those interviewed mentioned the counseling program. This was followed in frequency by community or human relations, permissiveness or lack of discipline and control of students, insensitivity of teachers, English and reading instruction, and staffing or teacher tenure. One or two, in each case, referred to music and arts, inequity in assignment of specialist teachers to certain schools, failure to motivate students, vocational education, handling of "Mexican American problems," "rules not enforced on

minority students," scarcity of materials and supplies, lack of individualized instruction, teacher prejudice toward Mexican American students, or "physical education classes too rushed for girls to have time to dress."

Asked "if you could improve one aspect of the educational program what would that be?" the largest number expressed interest in better counseling. This was followed by improvement of the reading program, expansion of vocational programs, improvement of school-community relations, improvement of discipline, reduction of class size or teacher-student ratio, employment of better teachers, and employment of more Mexican American teachers. One or two, in each case, said they would increase the emphasis on cultural contributions of Mexican Americans, reduce the central administrative staff, expose students to Mexican American role models, improve mathematics instruction, redirect school spending to benefit students rather than administration, improve the attitudes of all school personnel, place more emphasis on humanistic values, improve student-teacher relations, mandate in-service education of teachers in human relations, separate poor learners so as not to disturb others, extend the Excelsior Expanded Horizons program, or eliminate the dress code.

B. <u>Specific Factors</u>

A series of questions was used to elicit examples of positive and negative experiences, problems, effective programs or possible improvements in the policies and practices of the school district.

In answer to those questions:

1. On administrators, about half of those interviewed reacted positively to the central office staff and building principals in regard to their recognition of problems in the schools, demonstration of willingness to work with parents, and interest in developing new programs. A negative reaction came from 16 percent; most others were mixed.
2. As to teachers, 47 percent were positive regarding teachers' interest in children and teaching, demonstrating an ability to reach children who need a different kind of program, understanding of cultural and economic differences, and sensitivity toward people. A negative reaction was recorded for 14 percent, and a mixed reaction for the others.
3. On curriculum, 39 percent had a positive impression of the quality of textbooks and other materials used in the schools, the effort to build pride in the American heritage including that of minority groups, and dealing with issues the parents feel are important to their children. Here again, about 16 percent reacted negatively, and the others were mixed.
4. Counseling brought the largest negative reaction, with nearly 39 percent expressing adverse opinions of personal and vocational counseling, programming, and the attitudes of counselors generally. About 25 percent were positive, and the others were mixed.
5. Concerning observed cooperation or conflict among different ethnic groups, integration or segregation on campus, and impressions of the schools' effect on student attitudes toward

other people, 26 percent were positive, 19 percent negative, and the others were mixed.

6. The least positive reaction from those interviewed was with respect to the general climate or pattern of <u>discipline and behavior</u> in the schools, the attitudes of staff handling discipline, and the use of suspensions. Here 17 percent were positive, 21 percent negative, and the others were mixed.

C. <u>Intergroup and Community Relations</u>

Three-quarters of those interviewed said they were not aware of any difference in teaching, counseling or handling of discipline for Anglo and Mexican American students. Nearly 90 percent agreed that the schools should be teaching students how to get along with persons of different ethnic and economic groups. Only 16 percent felt, however, that the schools are "very effective" in doing this, while 47 percent felt they are "fairly effective," and 26 percent "not effective."

Anglo as well as Mexican American parents expressed dissatisfaction with the information they get about what is going on in the schools. Two-thirds of those interviewed said they do not believe parents are adequately informed about school matters.

Two questions dealt with the ethnic and socio-economic composition of the schools. Responses to the questions varied somewhat.

1. "Do you believe that all schools should have approximately the same proportion of Anglo and Mexican American students, and

students from middle and lower income homes, as exist in the total community?" More than 68 percent said no.

2. "What is your feeling about a better ethnic (and economic) balance throughout the school district? Do you think that this would improve the educational program?" With one-quarter of those interviewed not responding, 40 percent were negative, 35 percent positive.

D. Comments by the Team

Interpreting these responses and others made in the course of the interviews, the study team concluded that the community, which is generally satisfied with the education being provided, is largely unresponsive to the special problems and needs of many Mexican American students. Indeed, there is little awareness of such problems and needs. In view of wide agreement that the schools should be teaching students how to get along with persons of different ethnic and economic groups, however, it appears that there would be support for a district-wide intergroup relations program involving teachers, students and adults, with emphasis on Anglo, Mexican American and Chicano relationships and on socio-economic and cultural distinctions.

The lack of awareness of differences in teaching, counseling or discipline for students of different origins is consistent with the opinions expressed by many of those interviewed that "kids are the same," "the schools should treat everyone alike," "America is

one country," and "Mexican American students have the same needs as others."

There is a general complacency about the role and effectiveness of the school system, more pronounced among Anglos but also evident among the majority of Mexican Americans. Most people seemed to feel threatened by the implications of questions having to do with racial or ethnic differences. The schism between Chicanos and other Mexican Americans, apparently a growing one, is not a healthy evolutionary development in this district. Distrust and open enmity are creating a three-way polarization in the Norwalk-La Mirada school community.

If it is possible to speak of an average Mexican American here, such a person has ambivalent feelings about the schools and about Chicanos. He says he is satisfied with the education provided, but subtly conveys an impression of dissatisfaction with the treatment of Mexican American students and with the attitudes of many teachers toward these students. Overtly, he disassociates himself from the activist, militant Chicano factor. At the same time, on an emotional level, he aligns himself with the Chicano. This is expressed in remarks by Mexican Americans such as: "They (Chicanos) are right; they protest in the wrong way . . ." "Our problems may be the same but I don't like their methods. I think you can get things done without turning people (Anglos) off . . ." "Our children are Americans just like the Anglos but they should not be ashamed of their culture and background . . ."

There is a need for greater and more representative participation in school activities. Parents generally want better information about what is happening. Without such information, they are receptive to (and perpetuate) many distortions and misconceptions of school life, particularly with reference to Mexican American students.

People in the community focused their criticism of the schools in one particular area, that of counseling. Objections were made not only to the ratio of counselors to students, but also to the quality of their services. Allegations of insensitivity and neglect on the part of counselors were widespread. Perhaps more significant was what seems to be an absence of knowledge of the role of counselors in the structure of the school system. The manner in which parents expressed themselves on this subject indicates they feel frustrated because there is no one among school professionals who can be identified as taking a personal, sustained interest in the education of the individual student, especially at the secondary level.

The community was fairly evenly divided on the desirability of better ethnic balance throughout the district as a means of improving the educational program. There was much greater opposition to "busing" as a means of achieving such balance. Most respondents also rejected the idea that each school should have approximately the same proportion of Anglo and Mexican American students, and of students from middle and lower-income homes. This may reflect fear of an

immediate shift of pupils, while the concept of "balance" is more abstract and therefore more acceptable.

There is general support for the federally funded educational programs, with interest expressed in the extension to all schools in the district of such innovations as use of school aides and increased parent involvement. Mexican Americans especially favored improvements in the reading program; they and others emphasized their belief that too many young people have completed school without acquiring the reading skills required to function productively in adult life.

There was widespread dissatisfaction with "discipline" in the schools, but it was often nonspecific. Anglos seemed to feel that Mexican Americans are treated preferentially and permitted to "get away with" behavior for which Anglo students are routinely disciplined. Mexican Americans, on the other hand, seemed to feel that Mexican American students receive a disproportionate number of suspensions and expulsions. Charges of a double standard were made by members of both groups.

Many people in the community recognize a need for improved school-community relations, even though most of them seem opposed to particular departures from present policies and practices of the schools. Recognizing the validity of much criticism, the administration would have to provide community education and leadership to

promote support for major changes. Without such a development, it appears that minority and majority pressures, working against each other, will result in further student and community polarization.

VI. SCHOOL OBSERVATIONS

The Norwalk-La Mirada School District's general philosphy at this time is expressed in fourteen officially adopted "Goals of Education." Staff throughout the district was involved in the development of these goals, and much time and effort have been devoted to preparing for their articulation in the program of the schools. The team noted at the outset of the study that the three goals the district had selected for initial emphasis were those concerned with the teaching of basic skills and socialization within accepted modes of school and community behavior. They were:

> "1. Each student should develop communicative and computational skills to the level of his individual potential.
>
> . . .
>
> "6. Each student should acquire the knowledge, habits and attitudes associated with responsible citizenship.
>
> "7. Each student should acquire a positive attitude toward school and toward the learning process."

It seems to the study team that other goals on the list also are vitally important, such as that each student acquire an understanding of himself and an appreciation of his worthiness as a member of society, an understanding and an appreciation of individuals of social, cultural and ethnic groups different from his own, and tolerance and empathy for others and accepting their differences.

It may be that even in these abstract terms, the district has demonstrated a priority ranking for certain approaches, and placed

insufficient emphasis on adaptive or compensatory approaches which might prevent failure for lower-class, "different" students. Partly to explore this assumption, members of the study team visited each school in the district, toured the facilities, interviewed the building administrators, and observed classroom, playground and other activities.

Among the additional purposes of these visits were to sample morale and the climate of feeling in teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil relationships, the presence or absence of a multi-ethnic approach to learning, and various aspects of equal educational opportunities for Mexican American and other students. The principal results of the observations are briefly summarized in this section.

A. State Testing Programs

The results of education for all students are influenced by a number of factors, as nation-wide studies of equal opportunity have found. Among the factors are the students' home backgrounds, the quality of staff and programs provided in the schools they attend, and the social class background of their classmates. Racial or ethnic isolation as evidenced by the proportion of minority-group individuals in the student body also is important, especially in those neighborhoods where the minority-group families are educationally and economically disadvantaged.

The negative effects of ethnic isolation on attitudes and achievement are minimized by Norwalk-La Mirada administrators and board

members. They generally regard economic and social class differences as all-important in explaining major contrasts in educational outcomes. At the risk of oversimplification, however, one may read Table 4 (Appendix) as showing significant divergence between results of the program at schools of high and low Spanish surname composition.

The two elementary schools in this comparison of Fall 1969 test scores are imbalanced according to the definition in the State Administrative Code.* One has 4.5 percent Spanish surname enrollment, the other 64.3 percent. The two high schools technically are not imbalanced, their respective Spanish surname percentages being 10.1 and 32.0. All four schools do represent the extremes of ethnic composition in the district, and the differences in test scores are striking. With some exceptions, the pattern of lower scores in schools with higher Spanish surname enrollment is seen throughout the district. (Achievement data by ethnic group is not available, so it is not possible to compare test results for majority and minority-group pupils.)

B. Compensatory Education

School systems generally have taken one of two basic approaches to remedying such situations: compensatory education or improvements in ethnic balance. The two approaches are not, of course, mutually

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*An imbalanced school is one which deviates by more than 15 percent from the district mean in any racial or ethnic group. (California Administrative Code, Title 5, Section 14021 (c).)

exclusive. In Norwalk-La Mirada, to this time, it is the compensatory approach that has been followed. Within the limitations of available budget and staff and certain constraints in the application of Federal and State funding, the district has experimented with many types of compensatory programs. Among them are: preschool instruction for disadvantaged children (82 percent of those in Head Start classes are Mexican American); remedial instruction with emphasis on basic academic skills; cultural enrichment programs; tutorial assistance, sometimes involving older students for whom this activity improves motivation; bilingual instruction and English as a second language; free and reduced price meals, and health programs to assist disadvantaged families; school-community liaison through advisory groups and employment of aides; and efforts to raise the expectations of teachers and students to overcome negative attitudes which impede learning.

Observations by the study team reinforce the findings of the test scores, indicating that compensatory efforts have not significantly affected existing educational and economic disadvantage. Whether such efforts by themselves will ever attain that goal is open to question. Certainly existing programs do not reach all the schools or all the pupils who need them.

Evaluation of the three-school 1969-70 ESEA Title I program by Robert T. Stout, Claremont Graduate School, included the following comments which seem relevant to this report:

English as a Second Language:

Post-test results indicate that the children learned a large body of material in a short time. The program had an impact.

Mathematics:

There are no apparent, consistent differences between Mexican American children and all others in this program. Students at one school, Ramona, had somewhat higher levels of achievement than elsewhere.

Reading:

Mexican American children have achievement levels which are quite similar to those of all other children in the program. Children at Ramona have somewhat better experiences than elsewhere.

Parental Involvement:

The increased number of parents at advisory board meetings was one indication of the greater interest taken in the program. The large number of volunteer workers, refinement of home-school liaison responsibilities and extensive use of the bilingual libraries at the local level brought the parent closer to the school.

Intergroup Relations:

Significant measures were instituted in the area of pupil exchange among target and non-target schools. Expansion of Spanish and bilingual libraries, additional educational trips and the presence of outstanding minority personalities at the schools instilled a new sense of appreciation for the minority culture.

The study team, which did not confine its observations to compensatory education schools, concluded that there are wide differences in the effectiveness of such efforts, often clearly the result of differences in teacher and administrator attitudes and understandings. Most of the staff has little difficulty in dealing with the academic and behavioral concerns of middle-class Mexican American students and their families, but many have not adapted to the special needs, life style and manner of expression of those who make up the "Chicano" community and others who share that group's economic status and/or culture. Grouping practices, it appears, are symptomatic of the inability of some to work with mixed classes.

Expansion of compensatory programs has been projected through such activities as special counseling to prevent the fadeout of Mexican American students from grade 9 through graduation, new vocational education opportunities, and wider use of the Spanish language in instruction. Such programs may improve the situation. Changes in assignment of administrators and teachers, some already accomplished, will help to place personnel where they are better fitted by experience, temperament or talent to relate to a particular student mix. Other innovations and changes also may be helpful, as suggested in later subsections.

"Language deficiency" is the primary reason listed for including target school pupils in the ESEA Title I program. It remains an obstacle to academic achievement for hundreds of children in Norwalk-La Mirada. Most of them are Mexican American, and by no

means all those affected by language problems are currently being served by compensatory programs. For example, the ESEA Title VII "bilingual" project emphasizes Mexican culture, parallel academic instruction in Spanish, and English as a second language. The intention is to give maximum help to non-English speaking children during their period of adjustment to school and regular classrooms. This project, however, serves pupils in only three schools, the same ones that are target schools under ESEA Title I. Similar needs exist in other schools.

Other promising programs of a compensatory nature are: the tutorial aide program, featuring one-to-one assistance to elementary children by high school students, the latter having poor achievement skills or latent leadership qualities; the "Expanded Horizons" program now only at Excelsior High School, to encourage disadvantaged students to become involved in a variety of experiences designed to help them meet their individual needs, such as college motivation or individual guidance; the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which employs students during the school year and the summer vacation, a majority of them Mexican American; the School Community Relations Involvement Program, which has made inroads on the alienation or lack of participation of minority-group parents in school issues and activities; and the "RAP" program to help high school students cope with problems leading to drug abuse.

C. Grouping and Tracking

Members of the study team found evidence that grouping and tracking practices have resulted in placing a disproportionate number of

Mexican American students in the lower groups. Most elementary schools appear to utilize ability-grouping programs of some kind. Children are separated for purposes of instruction in reading and mathematics or are grouped in various combinations, sometimes for team teaching. Most principals stated that grouping was intended to improve instruction, but a number of classes at various schools revealed a predominance of Mexican American students in remedial or low achieving groups.

At times the actual practice in elementary classrooms appeared to contradict what the principal had said about the effects of grouping in his school. There also seemed to be a lack of awareness of, or unwillingness to admit, the fact that social class differences were related to the clustering of children from low-income families in "slow" or remedial groups and that homogenous grouping has negative effects on self-image and motivation.

In the secondary schools it was observed that similar clustering occurs in academic tracking, with a disproportionate number of Mexican American students in "terminal" level or remedial classes. Administrators were ready to discuss this issue, but perhaps not to concede that many minority-group students in effect are "locked into" instructional approaches which limit the possibilities of further academic achievement leading to higher education.

D. <u>In-Service Education</u>

Nearly all teachers and administrators in 23 schools have participated in weekly or monthly sessions of the "Schools Without

Failure" program based on Dr. William Glasser's reality therapy. This approach to improving instructional behavior and classroom management is the Norwalk-La Mirada District's main thrust of in-service education. It emphasizes involvement of each individual in problem solving, building on each successful experience, peer-group control of behavior, and development of attitudes toward, and understandings of, people of all racial and ethnic groups and all socioeconomic levels.

Glasser's aim is a worthy one, and its achievement would go far to resolve these issues: ". . . to return education to its original purpose: to produce a thoughtful, creative, emotionally alive, unafraid man, a man willing to try to solve the problems he faces in his world." His philosophy is that of "involvement, relevance, and thinking . . ."

In practice, as seen by the study team, the Glasser series has only touched the surface of interpersonal and intergroup problems in this district, and has done so more effectively in some schools than in others. It sometimes is used as an excuse by those who regard the training sessions and reading as their entire contribution to improvement of the school system and its services to children. Moreover, the Glasser approach itself is neutral as regards race and ethnicity. It must be applied with special awareness and sensitivity in classrooms and schools where intergroup feelings and attitudes contribute to learning problems.

Like other solutions, in-service education makes an impact only when the leadership provided by principals and other administrators is perceived by all those concerned to be fully committed to it and to be prepared to make it work. The Glasser seminars and workshops must be connected meaningfully with a multi-ethnic curriculum and a serious investigation of the learning styles and needs of Mexican American children if it is to provide a vehicle for improving intergroup relations and establishing equal opportunities in this district.

E. Multi-Ethnic Curriculum

Teaching the history and the cultural contributions of minority racial and ethnic groups is required by the California Education Code. Textbook authors and publishers as well as leaders in curriculum development are engaged in the process of revising curriculum in social studies, English and other subjects to fill the gap created by past ignorance and distortion. The study team believes that here is one of the keys to unlocking the educational potential of many children.

Teachers in the Norwalk-La Mirada district, like those elsewhere, are at different points on a continuum, at one extreme dealing with minority history and contributions awkwardly, if at all, and at the other doing so creatively and to the benefit of children of every group. Two intermediate schools were found to have outstanding social studies teachers whose classes were receiving instruction

using well-chosen multi-ethnic materials. District-wide articulation of the work of those teachers is urged by the study team.

At the elementary level, there were no multi-ethnic curriculum guides, although such guides are being used in other school districts. At all levels, there is a need for development and sharing of lists and supplies of books, other publications, audio-visual materials and ideas for activities. Major emphasis here should be, of course, on the life and culture of Mexico and of Mexican Americans. (The sister city concept offers instructional possibilities.) At the same time, it is important to convey an understanding and appreciation of the roles of other racial and ethnic minorities. Recognition of each group as having a positive influence on the society in which we live is an educational task that should be given high priority.

F. Leadership, Morale and Intergroup Relations

At several campuses, the study team observed a close connection between the principal's style of leadership and the morale of teachers and students, including the give-and-take of interpersonal and intergroup relations. An atmosphere of rigidity, a "tight ship," or heavy reliance on rules and regulations, on the one hand, seems to squeeze out creativity, openness to shared insights, and acceptance of learning as a mutual process. Some building administrators, on the other hand, encourage such openness and creativity while providing the necessary sense of direction to the staff and students.

Too often the attitude was that intergroup relations are worth attention only if there is trouble. "We have no problems here," was the common statement if tensions had not erupted into overt conflict. Principals, and to a lesser extent teachers, were reluctant to admit that their students, whether Mexican American or Anglo, had any feelings or attitudes in common with those creating tension at Excelsior or Centennial.

As in community interviews and in the staff opinion survey (see Sections V and VI), the study team found at the schools that Norwalk-La Mirada is divided and often polarized in three directions: the Anglo majority group which is dominant in numbers and in social and cultural influence; the Mexican American group which is middle class, upwardly mobile, and accepts the values of the dominant segment; and the "Chicano" group, relatively small in numbers but vocal, which reflects the frustration and discontent of some predominantly lower-income Mexican American families who prefer a life style and social and cultural values different from those of the majority.

It is the third group that protests school failures of its children and questions a school system that does not accommodate to its demands. The Excelsior satellite, for the most part, includes the schools serving this segment of the population, but the Chicano point of view has its impact on many other school situations.

Administrators and teachers frequently point to the popularity and participation of Mexican American students in campus activities as evidence that "there is no problem here." A closer look shows that these are usually the children of middle class, or upward striving, Mexican American families, and that they indeed feel threatened by the Chicano movement.

An open approach to the situation, accepting individual and group differences and seeking to provide equal educational opportunities for all, would find that there are strengths in the Chicano group, that these parents and children have much to offer the schools and the community. Such an approach would also serve the needs of the larger group of Mexican Americans in the district. Pride in national origin is important to development of a positive self-image and to progress in education. Neither the schools nor the community will be at peace until all three segments of the population accept each other as partners. In the long view, it is the schools that can best provide the necessary background of understanding for such acceptance.

VII. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study team was impressed by many fine programs and by the dedication of many educators and concerned citizens in the Norwalk-La Mirada Unified School District. It is obvious from those impressions, from the administrative and program changes initiated by the district since the study began, and from the fact that the study could be made with the district's cooperation, that there is a strong desire to provide a high quality of education in Norwalk-La Mirada. That desire and concern appear to extend to all ethnic and economic groups, although the issues may not always have been viewed in those terms.

Material presented in this report probably includes little that is new to those fully acquainted with the district. The report is significant primarily because it brings the material together in one document and offers an interpretation based on personal evaluation in the schools and community, as well as the study of available data, by a team of intergroup relations professionals. Such an interpretation necessarily is centered on unsolved problems rather than on those that have been solved, and on ways in which the existing program might be improved rather than on ways to maintain the status quo.

The focus is on problems of Mexican American students and the relationship of teachers and other students to members of that group. Hopefully, the resolution of such problems and the improvement of such relationships will lead to educational improvement for all children in the district.

Key conclusions to be drawn from this report include the following:

A. "The Excelsior situation" is not an exception to what is happening elsewhere. Contrary to the feelings of many citizens and members of staff, that situation reflects most visibly the same problems that exist in schools throughout the district, though perhaps in less acute form at this time. Those problems involve the education of students from many low-income Mexican American families, as well as intergroup relations and community controversy over school issues. If they are less acute elsewhere, it is because there are differences in grade level, ethnic imbalance and more tangible personal factors. The district is changing, however, and "the Excelsior situation" may occur in other schools unless attention is given to the underlying problems.

B. There is conflict both within the staff and within the community on the question of "cultural pluralism," that is, the right of various groups in American society to maintain some degree of separate identity and life style. Although it is true that any minority group must adapt to the ways of the majority in order to participate fully in the political and economic system, both education and society as a whole will suffer if the adaptation is made at the expense of a people's basic heritage and culture. The primary question is to what extent the schools should recognize and support cultural differences as a means of increasing achievement, helping to develop self-image and a sense of self-worth.

C. As in many schools elsewhere, there are personnel and programs which lead to a perception that there is a significant element of rigidity and depersonalization in many Norwalk-La Mirada schools. These characteristics promote a reaction among some students and parents. They express it in various ways, in the form of specific "demands" and nonspecific feelings. Their reaction really represents a plea for the schools to show a more personal, caring concern: in staff-student relations, in curriculum, in counseling and guidance, in pupil and citizen involvement in the educational program. This reaction is one of resistance to being lost in the machinery of bureaucracy, to having individuality denied, to being processed rather than being treated as a human being. It lies behind much of the recent rhetoric and conflict.

These issues may seem intangible, but the study team has tried to provide documentation. They resist easy solutions, but some specific recommendations are offered. Most important, they are issues which must be confronted by the school community, teachers, administrators, students, and citizens alike. Decisions must be reached in Norwalk and La Mirada so that they will represent the committed response of the total community, not just a portion of it. These are educational issues, and education is a community concern.

The three agencies that participated in the study offer their assistance to the Board of Education and the Superintendent in the study and implementation of the recommendations which follow. Appropriate materials, referrals to districts with exemplary programs in certain areas, and other types of specific advice and consultation are available upon request.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Use of this Report by the District

   The study team recommends that the Board of Education accept the report and direct the Superintendent to review it with his staff and present his evaluation of it to the Board with his recommendations for further action.

2. Compilation and Use of Data

   The study team recommends that the district establish a reporting system that will make it possible to compile and evaluate data by racial, ethnic and socioeconomic groups within each school, regarding test scores, tracking and grouping, compensatory and special education, and other instructional practices and student performance. On the basis of such data, reforms to assure equality of educational opportunities should then be planned, implemented and evaluated.

3. Community Involvement

   The study team recommends:

   a. That the Board of Education review the format of its meetings and explore methods of providing more opportunity for parents and community groups to present their views; and

   b. That the Board direct the Superintendent to study the effective use of advisory committees by this and other

districts, and make recommendations concerning the purpose and structure of such committees to secure more extensive representation of minority and majority points of view in Norwalk-La Mirada.

4. Ethnic Balance in the Schools

The study team recommends that the Board of Education authorize the Superintendent to review previously developed projections of Spanish surname enrollment and demographic trends in the Norwalk-La Mirada area as they will affect the ethnic balance of the schools, and to consult with State Department of Education staff regarding methods of coordinating compensatory education program development with changes in attendance patterns. As the result of such study, the Superintendent should present the Board with a plan or plans, for early implementation, to improve ethnic balance in the schools.

5. Employment and Utilization of Staff

The study team recommends:

a. That as vacancies occur, a vigorous effort be made to recruit, employ and promote minority-group teachers and other professionals, especially Mexican Americans;

b. That Spanish language fluency be given priority as a qualification; and

c. That teachers and administrators be evaluated and reassigned, if necessary, to place them where they can

be most effective in dealing with the socioeconomic and ethnic mix of the particular class or school.

6. Student Relations

The study team recommends:

a. That a representative staff-student forum be established at each high school to improve communication with respect to student and faculty concerns;

b. That efforts be made to involve Anglo and Mexican American students in informal "rap" sessions to elicit their ideas about school programs in an environment other than that of structured student government and clubs, perhaps drawing on the experience of the "RAP" program at Neff High School;

c. That an intergroup relations workshop or conference for students from all high schools be held at least once every year; and

d. That the Board of Education appoint a committee including Board members, administrators, teachers, students, police and paraprofessionals to propose guidelines to insure the safety and respect for the dignity of all persons at each school and in its immediate vicinity.

7. Behavior and Discipline

The study team recommends that the Superintendent review policies and rules related to suspensions, expulsions, attendance and other

aspects of student behavior and discipline, and make recommendations to the Board of Education regarding their effectiveness and possible revisions or in-service education of staff as required to insure firmness, fairness and consistency in their application.

8. Counseling and Guidance

The study team recommends that the Superintendent make a study of staffing and services in the area of counseling and guidance, with the advice and assistance of professional consultants, and that he present recommendations to the Board of Education for improvements in this area including better communication with students and parents regarding academic requirements and preparation for jobs and careers.

9. Tracking and Teaching Practices

The study team recommends that present methods of tracking and grouping be carefully reviewed with regard to their effects on student performance, self-image, and ethnic group feelings and attitudes, and that alternative methods such as heterogeneous grouping and programs of individualized instruction be tried on at least a pilot basis. Teachers should have special training and staff support for these efforts, and students and parents should be adequately briefed and counseled before changes are instituted.

10. In-Service Education of Staff

The study team recommends that special emphasis be placed on staff development of knowledge, skill and awareness of attitudes in the following:

a. The acquisition, development and use of multi-ethnic materials;

b. Communicating with and instructing students of different socioeconomic and ethnic groups;

c. Interpersonal relations and the development of a more open classroom environment in which students share fully in problem solving and learning experiences;

d. Dealing with problems of student discipline; and

e. Working with parents and other adults in the solution of school problems.

11. Multi-Ethnic Curriculum

The study team recommends that the district set a high priority on the development and use of multi-ethnic curriculum materials, resources and guides at both elementary and secondary levels and at all schools. Teachers should be encouraged to make use of such approaches and resources as the following:

a. Individuals and community organizations with background and interest in the arts, traditions and cultures of different ethnic groups;

b. Student clubs and organizations with special language, ethnic and cultural interests;

c. Cooperation with city councils and civic groups in organizing special events, particularly taking advantage of the sister-city relationship with cities in Mexico; and

d. Curriculum committees and advisory groups to coordinate these efforts.

12. Intergroup Relations Director

The study team recommends that the district establish the position of Director of Intergroup Relations to report directly to the Superintendent, and that the Director be provided with authority and liaison staff so that he can advise and assist building administrators and otherwise improve communications between the schools and community on intergroup relations matters, as well as cooperate with other staff in the development, review and implementation of multi-ethnic curriculum.

VIII. APPENDIX

A. Statistical Tables

B. Excerpt from Report, Intergroup Conflict in California Secondary Schools

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPIL ENROLLMENT

NORWALK - LA MIRADA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

RACIAL AND ETHNIC SURVEY, FALL, 1970

	Spanish Surname	Other White	Negro	Oriental	American Indian	Other Nonwhite	Total Pupils
Elementary Schools	4,179	12,267	17	136	45	56	16,700
Percent	25.0	73.4	.1	.8	.3	.3	
Intermediate Schools	1,162	3,836	4	40	50	9	5,101
Percent	22.8	75.2	.1	.8	1.0	.2	
High Schools	1,840	7,758	17	80	14	6	9,715
Percent	18.9	79.8	.2	.8	.1	.1	
All Schools	7,181	23,861	38	256	109	71	31,516
Percent	22.8	75.7	.1	.8	.3	.2	

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF FULL-TIME PROFESSIONAL INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF

NORWALK - LA MIRADA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL CIVIL RIGHTS SURVEY, HEW

	Year	American Indian	Negro	Oriental	Spanish Surname	All Others	Total
Elementary Schools	1969	2	4	55	11	515	587
	1970	2	4	51	15	543	615
Intermediate Schools	1969	-	-	4	11	195	210
	1970	-	-	6	7	199	212
High Schools	1969	-	-	12	12	371	395
	1970	-	-	12	14	389	415
All Schools	1969	2	4	71	34	1,081	1,192
	1970	2	4	69	36	1,131	1,242

74

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF SPANISH SURNAME AND OTHER

STUDENTS IN SPECIAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

NORWALK-LA MIRADA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

RACIAL AND ETHNIC SURVEY, FALL, 1970

Category	Spanish Surname	Other White	Total, All Ethnic Groups
Educable mentally retarded	68	125	195
Percent	34.9	64.1	
Trainable mentally retarded	24	51	75
Percent	32.0	68.0	
Educationally handicapped	20	139	172
Percent	11.6	80.8	
Mentally gifted	31	381	430
Percent	7.2	88.6	

TABLE 4

MEDIAN SCORES, CALIFORNIA STATE TESTING PROGRAM

NORWALK-LA MIRADA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

November 1969

Grade Level	Test	School with Highest Proportion of Spanish Surnames	School with Lowest Proportion of Spanish Surnames
Sixth			
	L-T IQ	88.0	103.3
	CTBS Reading	40.5	68.3
	CTBS Language	39.0	66.0
	CTBS Spelling	17.7	24.6
	CTBS Arithmetic	51.8	77.0
Twelfth			
	L-T IQ	95.4	102.5
	ITED Reading	18.6	22.7
	ITED Language	28.3	34.5
	ITED Spelling	7.7	8.8
	ITED Mathematics	10.0	13.4

Grade 6: Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test, Verbal Battery, Form 1, Level D; Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills, Form Q, Level 2 (raw scores).

Grade 12: Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test, Verbal Battery, Form 1, Level G; Iowa Tests of Educational Development, Tests 3, 4 and 5 (raw scores).

Excerpt from the report of a study of incidents in 35 school districts, Intergroup Conflict in California Secondary Schools, California Department of Education, Bureau of Intergroup Relations, Sacramento, August 1970.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Incidents of student unrest and tension are likely to continue and to intensify given the continued existence of "typical" administrative practices and procedures.

2. Incidents of student unrest and tension are likely to continue and increase as long as students are denied the role of helping to develop the procedures that govern their behavior.

3. Status and heirarchal relationships in schools are especially critical and serve to increase the distance (and therefore lessen the communication) between the two major groups in the school community: teacher and student. Reducing the necessity for reinforcing these status differences will aid greatly in bringing a closer relationship between student and teacher.

4. The rigid posture of administrative practice with its dependence on a maintenance of status quo serves to constrain behavior into patterns which help to foment conditions of unrest. In addition, administrative fear of exposure of incompetent management, even where none exists, reduce the possibility of recognizing potentially serious student dissatisfaction and thus being able to prevent an escalation of tension resulting from such dissatisfaction.

5. In the continued presence of rigid unyielding administrative practices, there is a general student feeling that confrontation is a valid technique to use in trying to resolve student problems.

6. Although "outside agitators" are the supposed "bogey men" of much student unrest as viewed through administrative and staff perspectives, this is emphatically not the case with students who reasonably suggest that the agitation is "inside." There are outside causes wherein schools frequently find themselves on the receiving end of frustrations and tensions developed in other parts of the community.

7. The student body composition including the number of minority group students within a given population has little bearing on the incident of unrest. Incidents have occurred in all minority group schools, either predominantly one minority or a population of varying minority proportions; in racially mixed schools and in virtually all Caucasion schools.

8. School staffing does not reflect the racial and ethnic diversity of students and in some instances indicate an insensitivity to different backgrounds which have a significant role in contributing to the conditions of unrest.

9. Perceptions of curricular offerings in schools undergoing unrest indicate that students feel them to be irrelevant and out of step with the current fast pace of change. Major and dramatic shifts have occurred in the racial/ethnic and socioeconomic

composition of many communities and subsequently school operations set up to serve an all white middle class student population are often out of phase with the new student population.